

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 11208 171358Z

53

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15

USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-13 MBFR-04 SAJ-01 CU-04 SIL-01

LAB-06 OMB-01 NIC-01 DRC-01 /148 W

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R 171233Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2096

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

SALT TWO GENEVA 0166

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET OFFICIALS COMMENT ON SAKHAROV

REF: MOSCOW 11049 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. IN ADDITION TO DISCUSSION OF VOA JAMMING  
REPORTED REFTEL, LUNCH CONVERSATION WITH CHIEF MFA USA  
DIVISION KORNIYENKO, MINISTER-COUNSELOR-DESIGNATE  
ANATOLIY GROMYKO AND MFA PLANNING OFFICIAL SMIRNOVSKY  
SEPT 13 ALSO TOUCHED ON SAKHAROV-SOLZHENITSYN  
AND  
RELATED MATTERS. ASIDE FROM INDICATION OF SATIS-  
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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 11208 171358Z

FACTION WITH KISSINGER LINE ON SAKHAROV, EXCHANGE WAS

NOTEWORTHYOLRIMARILY FOR EXTENT TO WHICH WOVIET OFFICIALS  
ARE NOW ABLE WITH RELATIVE EQUANIMITY TO DISCUSS DISSENT  
IN THEIR OWN SOCIETY. END SUMMARY.

2. WE BROUGHT UP SAKHOAROV AFFAIR IN CONTEXT OF QUESTION  
ABOUT ITS IMPACT ON SOVIET FOREIGN RELATIONS. AFTER  
OBLIGATORY DISCOURSE ON INTERNAL NATURE OF THE AFFAIR  
AND ON SAKHAROV'S MISTAKES AND LACK OF WIDE SUPPORT IN  
THE USSR, KORNIYENKO INSTINCTIVELY TURNED TO THE  
OFFENSIVE: THE AMERICAN EMBASSY SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT  
THE AFFAIR IS PROPERLY UNDERSTOOD IN THE UNITED STATES.

3. WE POINTED TO SECRETARY-DESIGNATE KISSINGER'S  
COMMENTS ON THE SUBJECT DURING HIS CONFIRMATION  
HEARINGS AS STATEMENT OF ADMINISTRATION'S VIEWS WHICH  
HAD WIDE DISSEMINATION IN THE U.S. KORNIYENKO SAID HE  
APPRECIATED KISSINGER COMMENTS AND HAD NO PROBLEMS WITH  
THEM. REAL DIFFICULTY STEMMED FROM AMERICAN JOURNALISTS,  
WHO WERE NOT ONLY NOT OBJECTIVE BUT INCONSISTENT AS  
WELL: IN ONE BREATH THEY SAY YAKIR IS GREAT INTELLECT,  
IN ANTOHER THEY DISMISS HIS EVIDENCE BECAUSE HE IS A  
DRUNK. WHY DOES NOT THE EMBASSY CORRECT THE MISINFOR-  
MATION OF THE JOURNALISTS?

4. WE INDICATED THAT THE REALITY OF THE SITUATION IS  
THAT SAKHAROV IS EXTREMELY WELL THOUGHT OF IN THC U.S.,  
AND CITED WASHINGTON POST COMMENT, IN CONNECTION KISSINGER  
STATEMENT ON SAKHAROLG, THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO MOLD PUBLICH  
SUPPORT IN US FOR DETENTE POLICY IF BELIEF EXISTS HUMAN RIGHTS  
BEING VIOLATED IN SOVIET UNION. I ALSO REITERATED LINE USED WITH  
FURTSEVA EARLIER IN WEEK, THAT GREAT POWERS MUST GET USED TO THE  
REST OF THE WORLD NOT ONLY TAKING AN INTERST IN BUT ALSO COMMENTING  
ON THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

5. YOUNG GROMYKO HAD LITTLE TO SAY ON SUBJECT OF  
DISSENTERS. SMIRNOVSKY CONTRIBUTED THE DISINGENUOUS  
THOUGHT THAT SOVIET AUTHORITIES FELT IT NECESSARY TO MAKE  
CLEAR ABROAD THAT INERANAL OPPONENTS OF DETENTE SUCH  
AS SAKHAROV DID NOT HAVE BROAD SUPPORT IN USSR.

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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 11208 171358Z

6. ON OTHER SUBJECTS, SHOULD BE MENTIONED THAT IN  
CONNECTION WITH DISCUSSION OF CESSATION OF JAMMING  
(REFTEL), KORNIYENKO COMMENTED WITH SOME ASPERITY ON  
CONTINUED USG SUPPORT FOR RADIO LIBERTY.

7. KORNIYENKO ALSO BROUGHT UP QUESTION OF DENIAL OF  
VISAS TO TRADE UNION DELEGATIONS AS COLD WAR CARRYOVER.  
ASWE INDICATED THE IMPORTANCE OF AMERICAN TRADE UNION

OPINION ON THIS SUBJECT AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT PROGRESS IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS WOULD EVENTUALLY MAKE POSSIBLE MOVEMENT IN THIS FIELD AS WELL.

8. WE ATTEMPTED TO PROBE ON CSCE AND MBFR WITH SMIR-NOVSKY, ON THEORY THAT MFA'S POLICY PLANNING ADMINISTRATION IS HEAVILY INVOLVED IN BOTH EFFORTS. HE WAS UNCOMMUNICATIVE, PLEADING THAT HE WAS STILL GETTING ACQUAINTED WITH HIS JOB. HE SAID THAT FONMIN KOVALEV, WHO HEADS CSCE DELEGATION, STILL RETAINS HIS HAT AS CHIEF OF POLICY PALNNING.

9. COMMENT. CAUTIOUS OBSERVERS OF THE SOVIET SCENE MAY RETAIN LEGITIMATE RESERVATIONS ABOUT INTERNAL OPENING-UP REPRESENTED BY PUBLIC REVELATIONS ABOUT DISSENT CONTAINED IN DENUNCIATIONS OF SAKHAROV-SOLZHENITSYN-YAKIR-KRASIN, ON GROUNDS THAT OPPONENTS OF DETENTE MAY MERELY BE PLAYING DEEP AND SUBTLE GAME. BUT PRIVATE DISCUSSION SUCH AS THIS ONE AND EARLIER IN WEEK WITH FURTSEVA, AS WELL AS SOVIET HANDLING OF EMIGRATION QUESTIONS OVER PAST TWO YEARS, SUGGEST INCREASED PERCEPTION IN OFFICIAL CIRCLES THAT SOVIET INTERNAL PROBLEMS ARE ALSO FOREIGN RELATIONS PROBLEMS, AND NOT AUTOMATICALLY FORBIDDEN TERRITORY FOR DISCUSSION WITH FOREIGNERS. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE REGIME WILL BE ABLE, WITHOUT UPSETTING VARIOUS INTERNAL QUILIBRIMS, TO DRAW APPROPRIATE CONCLUSIONS ABOUT DEALING WITH SUCH PROBLEMS. IT IS NOT EVEN CLEAR THAT REGIME IS AGREED ON DESIRABILITY OF DOING SO. BUT IT CAN BE SAID THAT AMONG THE VARIOUS TRENDS UNDER WAY HERE, THERE ARE SOME TRENDS WORKING IN THAT DIRECTION.

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